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/For information on music and dancing accompanying Sarakatsani weddings, see category 585./

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[33]

sisters, her cousins and the wives of her brothers, she walks some two hundred yards to the place where the groom's party await her. As they walk they chant a song which with brevity and unspoken inference expresses her grief.

> Mother, bless me on this my first journey away from you.
> Daughter, go with my blessing, may God bring you fortune.[3]

The bride is surrendered, and the eldest brother of the groom mounts her on a chosen animal. The horse is led by a sister of the groom while the other sisters, brothers, and brothers' wives surround and support her on all sides; for she is not only frightened and desolate but physically weak after long hours of standing, and the lack of food and sleep which she has endured since the beginning of the customary ceremonies on the Friday. At the end of the journey the bride is led to the door of the bridegroom's hut where his parents stand to receive her. The father assists her to dismount and she kisses his hand. She kisses the mother's hand, too, and is embraced by her. Then, as she enters the hut, crossing the threshold with her right foot forward, the mother of the groom passes over her wrists two bracelets of bread and gives her a cup of wine in either hand which she pours in her steps as she moves to the far side of the hut. There she is greeted by and kisses the hands of those kinsmen and affines of the groom who did not make the journey to escort her from her home. Finally, they bring to her all the children; and in the same way and with the same respect she kisses their hands also. In the presentation of the gifts, and later of bread and wine, which are the elements of communion and commensality; in the concern the groom's family show for her on the journey to her new home; and in the bride's first ceremonial, but simple, exchange of greetings with people to whom she has never spoken, but to whom she is now irrevocably bound, there is symbolized the initial pattern of their relations, submission and respect on her part, and acceptance and protection on theirs.

[3] Εὐχήσου με μανούλα μου στὸ πρῶτο κίνημά μου.
Μὲ τὴν εὐχή μου, τσούπρα μου, Θεὸς νὰ σὲ προκόψῃ.

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wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep. For the Sarakatsani a meal is a family communion to which unrelated shepherds are never invited. The wedding-feast is the family meal writ large with the family of the kindred sitting down to eat bread together. For all food is in a generic sense bread. 'Come, let us eat bread', cries the wedding master of ceremonies. As E. S. Drower[1] has said in discussing the symbolism of bread in Mediterranean cultures, 'It is not only the symbol of life. Bread, itself a union of many grains into a single substance, when broken into fragments and divided amongst many, becomes a symbol of life shared, of a society at peace with itself, of a family bound together by a common factor.'

Wine, too, is a life-fluid. It is drunk ritually by the bride and groom during the religious wedding ceremony. From the Saturday till the Tuesday afternoon, when the festivities end, it is drunk to excess by the whole bibulous assembly. A glass of wine must be accompanied by a toast, and every man tries to drink to the health of each of his kinsmen present. Wine is the symbol of blood; and each toast affirms a relationship. 'To your health, John' (Γειά σου Γιάννη). 'To your marriages, boys' (Μωρὲ παιδιὰ στὶς χαρές σας), when drinking with unmarried youths or young men; or simply, 'To your wedding' (στὸ γάμο σου). 'To the marriages of your sons' (στῶν παιδιῶν σας), in a toast to married men. 'A happy old age' (καλὰ γεράματά σας), used in drinking to the old men. And so on.[2]

In the confined space of an arbour covered with thick woollen blankets, between one hundred and two hundred men and boys are gathered. In the centre of the floor space the dancing only stops when the company sits down to eat. Then the plates of roasted meat are devoured almost in silence. Afterwards the dance is on again. Those who are not dancing, sing in accompaniment. The gipsy band beat out strange and exciting rhythms in which the high-pitched clarinet is never silent. In this intense atmosphere with men drinking steadily and shouting their toasts across the heads of the squatting assembly to their kinsmen, any link of kinship makes men like brothers, its absence potential enemies. For it must not be forgotten that although the wedding guests are all related in some fashion to

[1] E. S. Drower, *Water into Wine*, London, 1936, p. 44.
[2] See Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 50.

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585 612 to make the bridal procession the spectacular occasion it must appear if their prestige is to be maintained in the community. [492] They give this support by their numbers, their own bearing, and the quality of their horses and the coloured woollen saddle-cloths which are draped over the backs of the animals. For whenever the procession passes through or close to a village both Sarakatsani and villagers line the path, to enjoy the spectacle with critical eyes, and to exchange greetings with the [522] riders. The watchers laugh excitedly and try to draw the riders into an exchange of bawdy quips and jokes, but the horsemen must remain unmoved with upright backs and proud serious faces.

Earlier on the same Sunday morning before the bridal procession sets out on its journey, the bridegroom is prepared for [302] his ordeal. Seated on a chair outside the door of his hut he is attended by a kinsman with the necessary skill, who cuts his hair, shaves his beard, and trims the moustache. This, like the sewing of the standard, is a part of customary wedding ritual. [533] The kinsmen gather about the groom and accompanied by the gipsy band sing about the shaving of the bridegroom. From time to time the singing is interrupted by heated debate between the watching kinsmen and the barber as to the style of the hair cutting, the angle of the moustache, and the effectiveness of the shaving. For they fear the appraisal of strangers on the road and the malicious hopes of the bride's kinsmen that the bridegroom will in some way look ridiculous.

585 605 292 After the barber has completed his task, two or three of the more senior first cousins with a reputation for worldly knowledge go into the hut to supervise the changing of the bridegroom's clothes (ν'ἀλλάξουν τὸ γαμπρό). The Sarakatsani [178] have abandoned the traditional kilt and today the prosaic costume of a bridegroom consists of a white shirt buttoned to the neck without a tie, and a blue suit of manufactured cloth. [754 833] The cousins help their young kinsman to put on these clothes to which he is not accustomed and they make certain that he does not change his underclothes; for with these an envious man or woman might affect the sexual potency of the groom by sorcery. As a prophylactic against the same peril they place some steel 585 605 object in the folds of the shirt tails before he puts it on. As he is dressed, almost like a child, they feed him with various pieces

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of good advice, telling him in detail how he must deport himself that day on the road and later at the home of the bride.

At the home of the bride kinsfolk support her family in a similar manner, particularly in a number of situations where a measure of dramatized hostility is shown to the groom's party when they arrive to take away the bride; but these are episodes which I shall describe in the following chapter. The dressing and adornment of the bride, naturally, is a more elaborate affair than the preparation of the groom. In this, two or three senior married aunts or first cousins generally take a hand, assisted by the more sophisticated village dressmaker who in most cases has been responsible for cutting and sewing the white wedding gown. All through the long night of Saturday the bride sits in her parents' hut. She must not sleep for this would demonstrate an equanimity at odds with the grief she is expected to feel at the thought of leaving her parents and her home on the morrow. Her kinswomen sit closely round her. Two of them hold her hands. From time to time they sing the repetitive, intensely sad, songs that tell of the bride's departure from the only home she has ever known.

* * *

In this chapter I have attempted to give a fuller description of the relations of collateral kin than it was possible to present in chapter three, where I was mainly concerned to describe the formal characteristics of the kindred. I mentioned, then, that various aspects of kindred relations might be seen in terms of an opposition between the solidarity of siblings and the principle of parental obligation, the former being the source of moral solidarity between kinsmen, the latter strongly influencing the isolation of the family group from the collateral kinsmen of its members. The 'free favours' which a man does without thought or calculation for an uncle, cousin, or nephew, are related to kinship solidarity, the qualities of which follow from the notion of an extensive sibling relationship; while calculated co-operation which involves the corporate wealth of family groups is influenced by the particularistic obligations of parenthood. As one might expect, those cousins, father's brother's children, whose families of origin were concerned in co-operative sheep

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VI

AFFINAL RELATIONS

1. BETROTHAL AND ABDUCTION

581 ALTHOUGH in one respect marriage is a religious sacrament binding together two individuals in the sight of God, it is also a contract between the two families of origin of the man and the girl. In the early years of the marriage a brother's wife or a sister's husband is often referred to in such phrases as, 'She is our bride', or 'We have him as bridegroom'. Similarly, people do not ask whom a man has married, but whose daughter [851] has he taken. Indeed it is only as a contract between two families of origin that a marriage arrangement has immediate significance, for, in effect, there is no real recognition of a new [582] family until the first child is born. And since the prohibition on marriage within the kindred compels the Sarakatsanos to find a bride among families which are not related to him, that is among people who are hostile to himself and his interests, this marriage contract is in the nature of a peace treaty between two previously-opposed social groups.[1]

584 Despite the contrary testimony of love songs, romantic [533] courtship is impossible. 'The songs tell lies,' the Sarakatsani say. Virtually all marriages are arranged. It would be shameful for a man or girl to express any preference, and they have only to answer the specific question, 'Will you marry this particular man or girl?' It is almost impossible for a girl to refuse the bridegroom of her family's choice if they insist upon it, although it is believed that a good father or brother ought not to force her into a marriage against her will. But it is also said that a daughter should be guided by her parents' or brothers' choice, and in the period of the last twenty years I have discovered evidence of only two cases of 'marriage by force' (παντρειά μὲ τὸ ζόρι). It is more difficult for a father or brother to dictate to a potential bridegroom, but here again, in most cases, unless his feelings are very strongly engaged against a particular girl, the weight of family opinion is likely to persuade him to accept their decision. John Myriounis saw a maiden at a wedding

[1] Except in the marginal instance of a marriage between third cousins.

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593 The close intimacy between a mother and her children finds a different expression according to the sex of the child. A mother with her daughters is on terms almost of camaraderie as together they tackle the heavy domestic responsibilities of their sex. Between mother and son, because of the opposition of their sexes, there is some abruptness, especially during those years when the son is trying compulsively to behave in a masculine manner. But their relationship is none the less close, unconditional acceptance of her son and his deeds by the mother, protective concern on the part of the son for his mother. To take in vain the name of a man's mother is to offer him the worst possible insult. The bond between mother and son is [562] indestructible. She gave him life; in him she fulfils herself and transcends the moral inferiority of her sex. Although a mother is more in the company of her daughters, it is the sons who are closest to her heart. They are her pride and the significant achievement of her life.

593 I have said that the mother plays a role expressive of the 152 solidarity of the family. A Sarakatsanos sometimes says that 'The mother is the heart of the family'. Any kind of breach in the physical unity of the family distracts and worries her. After the first few years of her marriage, a wife shows less eagerness to pay visits to the family of her birth. She begins to fret and agitate to return after only one or two days' absence from her home, particularly if she has not brought all her children with her. For the first days after a daughter's marriage or a son's departure on military service a mother is inconsolable. Squatting by the hearth and rocking back and forth on her haunches, she maintains a continuous low moaning broken only by bouts 593 of deep sobbing. It is the wife or mother who is the leading 764 mourner at the death of a husband, son, or daughter. For the 152 twenty-four hours which intervene between death and burial, she does not leave her position at the right of the head of the • [533] corpse. During this time she is the chief singer of dirges (μοιρολόγια) in which she recites the golden qualities of the dead man or woman. But for the most part, she expresses her grief in simple and terrifying screams of lamentation (σκούζει), while she and the other women beat their breasts and tear at their 593 hair and cheeks (μαδιώνται). For a son a mother remains in 765 full mourning for five years whereas a father does not continue

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Although the individual family receives from the local gathering of Sarakatsani no practical support in its difficulties with the villagers, there may be expressions of moral support. In the coffee-shop where the Sarakatsan heads of family gather to drink, play cards, argue, and discuss the village news, a man who has had a quarrel with a villager, or difficulties with the village council, will be asked what happened. He may not tell his audience all the facts, or the truth, but he will tell them something of the matter, careful always to present his own actions and arguments so that they appear honourable and vigorous. The villagers in the case he will condemn as unjust, cowardly, and as men who do not love honour. Such a recital is a formal statement of the moral solidarity of the whole Sarakatsan community against those who molest it and its way of life. Every Sarakatsanos present supports without reservation the condemnation of villagers. 'Eh, what a "poustis"[1] that man is.' They all agree. Many, of course, will have unspoken reservations as to the part played by the narrator. Yet in regard to the actions of the villagers in the dispute, the solidarity of feeling is complete. Often at the end of the discussion, just as a hymn sometimes closes a religious service, somebody will start to sing a wild klephtic ballad in which the whole assembly join their voices.

Parallel to this conflict of interests and values is the social exclusiveness practised by each community towards the other. Sarakatsani do not generally invite villagers to their homes at weddings or festivals unless they are patrons or the godparents of their children. Nor do the villagers receive the Sarakatsani in their houses unless there is some particular relationship. At the festival of the village patron Saint, the reluctance of the master of ceremonies to allow shepherds to lead the traditional ring dance may be interpreted by the Sarakatsani as an attempt to humiliate them publicly. Each year it provokes in some villages violent incidents. In this context men forget the absence of relationship and stand together with the help of visiting kinsmen from other villages in defence of the honour of the whole Sarakatsan community against the villagers of Zagori who attempt to ridicule and belittle their way of life.

[1] A πούστης is the passive partner in a homosexual relationship.

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203 626 [485] older women, are constantly in Jannina for business and shopping. Here, most Sarakatsani eat and sleep at the Korakas Hotel and this establishment is an important clearing-house for business and gossip. The eagerness for news and gossip is intense. The consciousness of being a community stimulates the circulation of news which is all the more urgent because people do not live in a closely settled community. In its turn the very process of evaluating the conduct of other Sarakatsani is a reaffirmation of the solidarity and indeed of the existence of [183] the community as such. Gossip and denigration are carried out in terms of a system of values. Every criticism of a man's conduct, whether it is justified or not, is a restatement of a value.

626 Gossip within the family is uninhibited and subjective. Fantastic allegations of wrongdoing are levelled against other families of the community on negligible evidence. No doubt this contributes to the group's morale and suggests, by contrast, its own integrity. Public discussion of a man's conduct, for instance in a coffee-shop, is more careful and somewhat more [183] factual. Vicious slander without a foundation of hearsay fact merely destroys the accuser's own reputation for being an honourable man. Slander of this kind might be an answerable provocation if any kinsman of the ridiculed man were present at the time. If there is some, but not conclusive, evidence to condemn a man, a spirited debate will take place and it is in these circumstances that the presence of an articulate kinsman may help to salvage a man's reputation. But where a man's fault or failure seems to be clearly established the whole assembly will unite with obvious pleasure to ridicule a man. In this way they emphasize their own probity and prestige. Then, even the presence of kinsmen will not save a man, and if his shortcomings are sufficiently serious they may be driven to abandon him.

626 ●533 Gossip never ceases and it seizes on the pettiest of details and circumstances. In situations which especially shock or pique the community's imagination satirical songs are sometimes written. Song writing, of course, is the work of individuals but it depends on the community whether the songs will be accepted and remembered. This is a most feared sanction since the ridicule lives on in the song. The song will not be sung to the victim's face, but he will learn of it, and be bitterly shamed.

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The songs are not, in fact, particularly daring or insulting in themselves: therein, perhaps, lies their effect. Of Nasios Karapheris the woman chaser it is sung, 'Up at Kouphos where they used to grow corn, Nasios is making a place to lie down. Hidden away in the long grasses, he makes secret eyes. Mitsos draws out his knife to kill Nasios Karapheris.'

A song may be composed about a man who, although he has not erred morally, has been made to look ridiculous. For this, too, is failure. Theodoros Kallis is a physically strong man with a bullying character. He is wealthy and many people fear his violent nature. They were not sorry, therefore, when he suffered the following misfortune.

'On the twenty-first of January went Theodoros, the poor devil, to see his little mother-in-law. But when he arose in the morning, "Oh dear oh dear, they have cut the tail of my horse, dear mother-in-law!" Then cursed the mother-in-law, "May two unmarried boys never live to set up their wedding standards!" '

A man's failure in any respect may also be prolonged in the community's memory by giving him a nickname (παρατσούκλι). Flattering nicknames are sometimes given to members of the leading families. Costas Katsanos in his younger days was known as 'the flyer' (φεύγας) because of his great speed of movement up or down hill. But more often nicknames ridicule a man. Thus a man who was caught in the act of stealing maize from a villager's garden, was named καλαμπόκιος, an adjective fabricated from the Greek word for this grain. The name was not a comment on the morality of theft but the indignity of discovery and failure.

I have said enough to indicate how public opinion functioning through gossip and ridicule acts to sanction the community's prestige values. Gossip and its outcome, ridicule, are in a certain manner the external sanctions which support the internal sanctions of individual action, self-regard and the sense of shame. The subtlety of gossip and ridicule as sanctions is that, since they do not generally operate in his presence, they offer a man no excuse for violent response. He may respond to the insult of an individual, but not to the laughter of the community which he senses, but seldom hears.

585 262 [273] being moved in and wedged among the company as tightly as jigsaw pieces. Wicker-bound demi-johns of wine were beginning to travel from hand to hand overhead. Glasses clashed convivially together, miraculously filling up as soon as they were drained, and plates were returning again and again for second or third helpings. Outside the window, swarms of guests were feasting under the trees. Whole lambs were being flourished, sizzling and smoking on their spits, and we could hear the crash of cleaver on block and the crunch of hewn bones as a sinewy nomad toiled like a headsman to keep pace with two hundred magnificent appetites. Nothing accompanied this [252] delicious roast except cross sections of dark and excellent bread sliced from loaves like small millstones and hot from the domed ovens outside. [189] It was, in a way, a Stone Age banquet. Strangers, on occasions like these, are the objects of eager solicitude: special morsels, forkfuls of liver or kidney and even more recondite appendages, are constantly being proffered, and helpings of brain are delved from heads which have been bisected lengthwise and opened like a casket, each half, sometimes, still equipped with a twisting horn. Avoidance of the sheep's eyes is a recurrent problem for outsiders. They are highly prized by mountaineers, but for all but the most assimilated travelers, the message they signal from the prongs is one of harrowing reproach.

585 533 After an hour or so the general hum of talk sank to a single deep bourdon note which resolved itself into the opening phrases of a Klephtic song, the first stanza being sung by a group of two or three, and then repeated in a slow and long-drawn roar, starting with the vehemence of a lurch, by the rest of the shepherds. Rather surprisingly, so far from the Peloponnesus, it was about the great War of Independence leader, Kolokotrones. (I would have expected some more northern Klepht, and above all, Katsandónis, a Sarakatsán from the wild [539] Agrapha Mountains.) "Kolokotrones shouted," sang the nomads' voices, "and all the world trembled: 'Where are you, poor Nikitara, you whose feet are winged? Go, go and seize the Turks, drive them like hares into a trap, slay some and capture some, and lock some up in the castle. . . . At Antikorpha and Trikorpha the blood is flowing like a brook.'" This gave rise to another deep melopoeia from the south: "They have blocked all the roads of the Morea, they have sealed up all the passes." When the massed voices died down, the steady and unchanging note of the smaller group continued in a wail, setting up its own curious vibration. This comparative lull was always followed by the long deep cry of conjuration, "*Or!*" ("Oh, you!" or "Hark!"), which ushers in most Klephtic stanzas, and another act from the

585 warlike past began, heckled and abetted by sud-
533 den ejaculations and shrill shepherds' whistles.

585 These Sarakatsáns were not great virtuosos, but
539 they had the merit of vigor and conviction. I was struck by one of their songs in which the last word, *Makarondzi* — a derogatory epithet for the Italians — had obviously, judging by the style of the words and the tune, replaced the name of some much older foe in order to fit the winter campaign of 1941: "Would that I had wings to soar on high, up to the topmost peaks of the mountains, to alight there and gaze down, down over Epirus and over poor Chimarra, to look down on the war, where the Greeks are fighting the *Makarondzi*." The modern ending was a bit of an anticlimax, especially after the mention of Chimarra, that warlike Greek stronghold in the Acroceraunian Mountains over the Albanian border, which is almost as celebrated for its martial stubbornness, in Turkish times, as Souli and the Sphakian Mountains of Crete. There was a distinct trace of anticlimax too, but also of oddity, about another of their songs: "Anyone who wants to go to America, let him sit down and ponder. Forty days at sea, days of sorrow and sighing. They get into a boat and go ashore in New York. They know nobody there, so back they wing like birds." A sad little tale, but most peculiar here because, although in most Greek gatherings of this size at least a half dozen would have spent a few years in Brooklyn or Chi-
[167] cago or Nebraska, Uncle Petro assured me that no one in the room had ever been to America, nor, as far as he knew, any Sarakatsán ever, and ideas of its whereabouts and character, for those who had heard its name, would be as hazy as a layman's notions of life on Mars.

575 During the banquet and the long procession of refilled glasses and the concatenation of songs, the falling shafts of sunlight from the windows had slanted horizontally and veered askew down the room; the long sunlit parallelograms on the opposite wall were turning an evening apricot hue. During these cheerful hours there had been no glimpse of the bride. "She's upstairs," Uncle Petro said, "we must go and look at her," and grasping the shaft of his upright crook like a punt pole, with joints momentarily acreak after a long session, he levered himself to his feet. "*Ta Gramata!*" he said, with a smile, "old age." He led the way up the ladder staircase, and the clamor dwindled.

595 Dead silence reigned in the upper chamber.
593 The dowry was arranged along the two side walls: rolled bales of dark homespun for capes and for the bivouacs which are pitched on the march;

[p.78-B]

585 292 531 ancient Greek vases of the geometric period, for every design was made up of straight lines and triangles, with here and there an inchoate beginning of those patterns of white crosses on a black ground, and black on white, that cover the vestments of frescoed prelates on the wall of a narthex. All was angular: triangles mounting in pyramids or shooting diagonally in zigzags and sawteeth and staircases with, very seldom, here and there, a small and subtly placed triangle or chevron, among the dominating black and white, of pale ocher, or terra-cotta, or a deadened blue. "Geometric" and "neolithic" were the epithets which began to float to the surface of the mind, bringing with them the excitement of the thought that these clothes and these designs might not have changed for three thousand years or more. One knows that these thoughts must be suppressed until they can be confirmed by research. But such dalliance is always stimulating. It was backed here by the certainty that nothing like these clothes exists in Greece or in the Balkan Peninsula or in Europe.

142 [302] The bride's face, with the blue cross on her forehead under black hair as coarse and lustrous as a stallion's tail and the stiff linen coif with its load of baubles and flowers, was burned a deep bronze. It had the metallic, wide-browed, heavy-lidded beauty, the slightly sad mouth, the clear line of jaw from chin to ear, and, springing from its flattened ruff and its stomacher of coins, the strong columnar neck which I admired so much, a few years ago, among the Mayas of the Honduranean and Guatemaltecan jungles. Obsidian, chalcedony, and basalt would have been the stones in which to carve those features and that still and melancholy posture. It is a type of looks which has an arresting distinction, a Gauguin-limbed strength at variance with the slender Tanagra delicacy that seems to have left an indelible stamp on Western ideas of grace and style.

585 [534] THERE was no time for more of these cogitations. The deep reedy blast of a clarinet sounded under the window; then, after a few twiddles, a violin and the twanging of a lute and a tentative fluttering tinkle of hammers over the wires of a zither. "Ah, the instruments," Uncle Petro said, "at last!" ● [533] I asked Petro if the musicians were Sarakatsáns. [648] He looked at me in surprise. "Sarakatsáns? We only play the flute. They are Gypsies." And so they were, very dark ones, lined up outside under a tree in blue suits, wearing pointed black shoes and ties, the only ties for miles, and looking sleek and urban among these other nomads. There was a crunch of hobnails up the stairs as the

585 long chain of the dancers. Their pace subsided
535 to a ritual shuffle. There is nothing unusual in this; with a few exceptions, Greek dances, however many people may be joined hand in hand, are in effect solos — everything devolves on the leader, and each dancer, when his turn comes, fulfills the temporary role of coryphaeus. The job of the others, and especially of his immediate neighbor, to whom he is linked by a handkerchief, is to support him in his convolutions, and these are astonishing when a real mountain dasher is in the lead. But today, even after the first bridal saraband, the Dionysiac zest seemed to abandon the others when they linked hands. The dominance of form in the life of these nomads began to dawn on us.

595 Outside this semicircle, however, all was rejoicing. Staidness evaporated on release, and scores of young nomads were carousing and reeling under
[535] the branches. Squatting or standing among the wigwams, rings of geometrical women confabulated or sang together, and there was even an ex-
[283] clusive little ellipse of dancing women. Their gatherings were abristle — like those of the men with their crooks — with the carved distaffs tucked in their belts, all cloudy with rough hanks of raw wool, the spindles rising and falling at the end
[854] of their twirling threads. Some of the younger of these spinning squaws had wooden cradles slung papooselike on their backs, each containing
[533] a miniature nomad. Their songs had the same epic themes, laced with lament, as those of the men. The murmur of their talk was broken, again and again, with peals of laughter.

The Sarakatsánissas, usually so silent in the

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[p.81-A]

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
831 enacted within. But the groom was found wanting
and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered
with apparent promise, and each one in turn was
[533] ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was dis-
covered at last, and during a final mime of tri-
umphant bawdiness, the entire company danced
around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the
dancers alternately banging their noses and their
rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I
would give much to observe.

851 The feast of St. George is the most propitious
553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
[794] afterward often have to wait for a year to be bap-
[775] tized. But they are always named at once, and
should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism
on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
163 vampires. The average family varies between
848 five and fifteen children. Random fornication,
[684] adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are un-
known, and should a case of bastardy ever crop
up, death to all concerned is the only remedy.
This is not only for reasons of morality, for these
ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
[525] sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should
one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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[p.84 A]

123 enjoy on equal terms as accomplices, fellow hedonists and fellow victims. It is exciting for a stranger when he begins to understand that the armor which has been irking him and the arsenal he has been lugging about for half a lifetime are no longer needed. A feeling of miraculous lightness takes their place. On that particular evening this exhilaration was reinforced by other things; my mind was full of the events of the day, the smell of gunpowder, the cannon fire at dawn which had achieved the innocence of fireworks as the bangs had echoed upstream — the first glimpse, in fact, of warfare. By then, I felt I had almost taken part in the battle. The hooves hammering over the loose planks of the bridge still rang in my ears, and the songs on the long ride. On top of this came the beautiful ascent through the foothills, the sunset arrival at the encampment, and now, the voices and laughter and the gold fire-lit masks of the nomads in this hut in the dark mountains, the tiredness of limb, the feeling of being blessedly lost in time and geography with months and years hazily sparkling ahead in a vista of unconjecturable magic. The fusion of all this made it seem that life, at that moment, had nothing more to offer.

533 [123] But it did have something more, and at once. Yorgo, the old man's grandson, who had taken my horse and me under his wing (planning to guide us next morning on a shortcut over the hills to a point where we could swoop down on the army again), fished out a long bone flute. The music that began to hover through the hut was moving and breathless. It started with long and deep notes separated by pauses and then shot aloft in pro-

[Text continues on p.88-A]

[p.87-B]

333 tracted patterns of great complexity. Repeated and accelerating trills led on to sustained high notes which left the tune quivering in midair before plummeting an octave to those low and long-drawn initial semibreves. Notes of an icy clarity alternated with notes of a stirring, reedy, and at moments almost rasping hoarseness. Then, after a long breath, they sailed again into limpid and piercing airs of a most touching softness, the same minor phrase recurring with diminishing volume, again and again, until the final high flourishes presaged the protracted bass notes once more, each of them preceded and followed by a lengthening hiatus of silence. One can think of no more apt or more accurate reflection in sound of the mountains and woods and flocks and the nomads' life.

122 Less lulling music cannot be imagined. But, overcome at last by the day's doings, I must have fallen asleep in the middle of it and been covered with a cloak where I lay. I woke up an hour after midnight to find the hut in the dark except for the embers of the fire and empty of all but the lightly snoring patriarch on the other side. Yorgo's hooded departing back was outlined for a moment in the doorway against the stars. There was a [234] murmur of voices in the cold outside as the shepherds, like monks before the night office, assembled for the first milking; this was the equivalent of matins in their pastoral book of hours. Then silence fell, and after a minute or two, a faint stirring of bells and of waking flocks was hushed by the returning currents of sleep.

220 Now, a little reluctantly, I must call a halt to these postscripts and flashbacks and return to the point where we began to deviate from the main thread of this narrative among the tassels and the buttoned upholstery of the carriage rocking back with us through the Thracian darkness between Sikarayia and Alexandroupolis.

Not many minutes had passed before the guard worked his perilous way along the duckboard outside and climbed in, not to punch our tickets, but for a chat. We were his only passengers. He was a dark, jovial, round-faced refugee from Smyrna.

"Well," he said cheerfully, offering cigarettes, "did you find out where they hide their pots of gold? Any for me? I could do with it, at this job."

We told him about the wedding. As I had already absorbed one or two hazy notions about the possibility of the extremely ancient descent of the Sarakatsáns, I asked him what he thought.

[p. 88-A]

/135 cont./

602 571 182 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a complementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

585 602 /136/ The Principles of Married Life.

The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[527] [474] [605] [572] [492] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 602 536 [583] Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party withdraw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a [533] [539] dialogue between the future spouses:

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

/136 cont./

583 174 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

[113] 17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 178 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct. However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 182 (613) /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman, [593] [562] "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 585 562 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number of facts.

First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing [533] during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:

[539] --And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

[533] [602] [539] Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

583 /137 cont./
585 --In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
602 In impeccable fashion and bright
533 As the sun and the moon...
539 You must prostrate yourself,
562 You must honor your mother-in-law.
And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
And thought well of in the entire world...

562 Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in
583 the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her
585 submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose," she must above all
602 take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days,
261 (516) custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult to her new family.

583 Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent
585 departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her.
602 Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the
593 banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house.
562 According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter,
[178] but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times. What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if the respective kin groups of her husband and her parents migrate to regions far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family,
562 her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the
594 domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

/138 cont./

593 that the Sarakatsani voluntarily tell corroborates these assertions:
562 the mayor of a village one day asked one of the men under him the name
594 of his wife. But the latter did not reply. He had completely forgotten it.

[551] The personality of the wife is so absorbed by that of her husband
[553] that she even loses her first name; she is henceforth given the first name of her husband put in the feminine gender.

583 Now the abduction confirms the rule of that the woman is controlled
593 by the society. Until then at the disposal of her father, she places
562 herself henceforth at the disposal of her husband. That is furthermore
594 why, when we speak of divorce, we are putting ourselves in an opposite
[586] perspective, which is inconceivable in the world of Sarakatsani values.

583 It thus seems to us altogether certain that the Sarakatsani
585 marriage ritual is the expression of a coherent and solid set of well-
562 rounded attitudes. In this connection, and even at the risk of repeating
[182] what is known, we should like to quote another Sarakatsani song sung by
[533] the women friends of the wife at the time when they dress the latter.
[538] Simulating throughout a dialogue between the wife and the audience, it
[539] says:

--Oh! Thou lavishly dressed
Whoever has covered you with finery
And who has made you beautiful as the turtle dove?

/139/ --It is my father, my mother, my sisters, my brothers (etc.)
Who have covered me with finery
And have made me beautiful as the turtle dove...(etc.).

This song, which shows proof of the consent of the parents to the marriage, makes it public, as it were, and leaves no doubt about the true nature of the abduction.

[593] Nevertheless, the principle of the wife's submission to her husband
[594] expresses only one part of the relations between the spouses.

/143 cont./

585 Furthermore, during the preparations for marriage, and specif-
593 ically at the moment when, in the hut of the future husband or the
533 future wife, the wedding pastries are kneaded and baked, the company
[539] sings, always on behalf of the persons concerned, the following couplet:

--Bless me my beloved mother.

--My blessings go with you my daughter (or my son)
May God grant you good fortune and prosperity.

This song shows that the mother is held in high regard. For she has the power to bless or curse her children and therefore exerts an evil as well as a beneficent influence on their destiny.

593 The result is that a son owes his mother respect and affection,
594 on the one hand because she has brought him into the world and reared him on the other hand because of her quasi-magical power over his future, as well as that of his brothers.

Moreover, the son must protect and help his mother and take care of her. When his father dies, it is he who takes charge of his mother and occupies toward her the place of the deceased.

As a result, the son is at one and the same time subordinate and superior to his mother, or, what amounts to the same thing, he plays toward her sometimes the part of a son, and sometimes the part of an elder brother - an ambiguous situation no doubt, but a real one.

593 Obviously, the sisters occupy a position inferior to that of
562 their brothers, even when the latter are younger. And the brothers
594 exert a kind of paternal authority over them. The male sex here once more affirms its superiority over the weaker sex.

[264] /144/ All these matters of precedence are expressed in condensed form in another rule of family and social life in general, which says that women do not have the right to sit down at the same table as the men--whether their husbands, their brothers, their sons, relatives, or
561 guests and friends. (22) In the group of male children, as well as in
594

/148 cont./

121 593 594 Sarakatsani culture has created enough loopholes so that discipline and family hierarchical order does not degenerate into veritable slavery for its members. (23)

23. This idea is not at all anthropomorphic. It merely conforms to the point of view that has guided the course of this work. Besides, for us, all the manifestations of a given society arise from the action of its elements and from their dialectical combinations, and are therefore products of its collective consciousness.

121 182 593 594 On the contrary: the dialectic of obligation and compensation smooths out discontent, mollifies oppositions and tensions and permits survival, so to speak, and prevents the explosion of the context in which this phenomenon unfolds. As a result, this same phenomenon must be classified among the causes to be found at the root of the structuring of the Sarakatsani family, and it is in this sense that one must proceed to an appreciation of its social and collective significance.

121 182 593 594 That these assertions cannot be reduced, after all, to an /149/ arbitrary construction based on a formal and abstract logic, but that they express factual reality, becomes unquestionably evident from a couplet which the women sing in the course of the marriage ceremony:

533 585 [539] --O wife! May you have sons
So that one day they may subjugate other women...(24)

24. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 58.

Lines full of bitterness, no doubt, but in which the apparent resignation is backed up by the hope of future compensation which, although indirect and more of less uncertain, at least lightens the difficult lot of the married woman and makes it bearable for her.

121 182 593 594 829 The Sarakatsani are conscious of this interplay. They accept it and make the best of it.

/181 cont./

474 Because they remain in the camp, the women profit more than the men
571 from the intensity of social relations within the Tséligato. In summer,
461 if one is out walking, one can see them all together spinning while
521 gossiping and watching the children, the young girls for their part mounting the warp or weaving while exchanging confidences and jokes or singing sublimely lyrical songs.

(889) In a corner, the old men, very dignified, smoke their pipes and criticize everybody.

(533) The distant sound of bells or shepherd flutes adds to this atmosphere, which evokes an idyll of Theocritus or a page from Hesiod.

474 But in winter the colors are less soft. When the north winds sting
132 cruelly and snow or storms make the night diabolical, men and women must
233 protect the flocks, above all the newborn lambs, the hope of the future, by running from one sheepfold to another, from one gorge to another, in a desperate contest with unleashed nature. It is at such moments that the Tséligato completely proves its effectiveness as a form of /182/ solidarity and collective action, and in particular as the only framework open to those who are isolated.

* * * *

474 The elements of the Tséligato are arranged hierarchically. At the
596 head one finds the Tséligas and his family. Then the associated families and the isolated shepherds, on an equal footing. This is true from a contractual point of view; in actuality the families are hierarchically arranged according to their size in work force and flocks, the isolated shepherds occupying a subordinate place.

Of course, the principle of seniority and of division by sex plays the same role here as in the other social units, the hierarchy of individuals outside their respective families being rigorously prescribed at the Tséligato level.

(675) For its part, the process of obligation-compensation seen in the

/259 cont./

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the latter passes to Rome and from there, in the form of May festivals, to Central and Western Europe: H. Graillot: Le culte de Cybèle, p. 131, Firmicus Maternus: De errore profanarum..., p. 22, E. James: Ibid., p. 189-190 where one finds again a description of the Roman festival Hilaria. For the Semites it is Astarte who is accompanied by Adonis and who plays the same role.--In Greece it is Demeter and the Kora Proserpine and also Hera, protectress of the fertility of women and of the earth:

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ : Εὐμενίδες I, 214, ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις II, 17, 4, IX, 8, 1, ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ : Ὁ Δαίδαλος τῶν Πλαταιῶν, 4.

but she is subject to the Olympian Zeus. A separate place must be reserved for Bacchus who in the beginning is only Zeus Couros, god of fertility, not of the vine:

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ : Κρῆτες, Fragm. 475. but also god of spring whose festival is celebrated in Athens in the Anthesteria: M. Nilsson: Geschichte der Griechischen Religion. 1, 547 f.

796
[198] These same ideas survive in the Sarakatsani rites, though submerged in a syncretism with Christianity.

As a matter of fact, Pure Monday (the first day of Orthodox Lent and 40 days before Easter) is an important festival among our herders. When night falls, they light fires near the huts. Only the men perform, the
796
536 women are content to be spectators. The entertainment starts with a sham marriage, the wife being merely a disguised man. After the so-called celebration of the nuptials the couple retire into a hut for their first
[533] night. The others, who drink heavily, start to sing and dance a special
[535] dance around the fire, the movements of which consist in touching the ground several times. But the newly married couple go through difficult moments. It seems that the husband becomes impotent and his partner protests; then she leaves the hut and looks amo.g the company for another companion whom

/260 cont./

796 [789] against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. 8.-

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the [128] women of the Tsé́ligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

796 182 831 789 [842] [233] [191] Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus,

34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

796 789 535 533 539 We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

796 /260 cont./
789 and the multicolored viper
535 as a collar around your neck...
533 /261/ May the stones of his house
[539] never loosen
and may its master enjoy a long life...

Only the "bride," her head hidden beneath a scarf and not carrying bells, keeps herself apart in an attitude of great modesty; she neither sings nor dances.

796 The meaning of this song is obvious. The word "Madana" by which the
789 one who is preparing herself for the festival is addressed and who is none
533 other than the mistress of the house, means, in our opinion, the "mistress
796 of the waters." In order to interpret this word which, incidentally, is
174 not a Greek word, we refer to mandani, the device which beats woven material for a long time in water and of which we have spoken in connection with crafts. In the northern part of Greece this device is also called batani, a word whose origin is probably found in the Slavic vada which means "water" (vandani, and by transposition, batani).

796 It is not surprising that the Sarakatsani on that day address the
789 mistress of the waters. We shall see later on that certain evil sub-
796 terranean spirits, the kalikantzari, move about the earth at that time and
823 must be exorcised by water. That is not all. The presence of the married couple together with that of the mistress of waters shows immediately that we are dealing here with a practice incouraging fruitfulness, and the fertility is expressed in the complex: woman (Madana), water, couple. As
533 for the song, it completes the symbolism of creative forces. The sun,
796 driving out the chthonian spirits and itself personifying these same
789 forces, (35)

796 35. See the myths of Apollo.--J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 120,
[821] referring to the work of M. Chapouthier: Les Dioscures,
[825] pp. 268-281, establishes the relations existing between

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
796 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[171] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake..

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[529] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 198 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.

789 Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/326 cont./

796 takes place the day before (Friday), and the other on the holiday itself. On Friday, at twilight, the boys of each /327/ Tseligato form a group. One of them is chosen to play the role of the saint. He stretches out on the ground, his eyes closed, his hands crossed on his chest; he represents the dead saint. His companions then lift him up and start making the rounds of all the hits. They stop in front of each door, deposit "Saint Lazarus" on the ground, and sadly sing of his death. When the tour of the huts is finished, the group disbands. The next 796 morning the boys gather anew and go to the fields to gather flowers. 795 Afterwords they make a figurine out or pieces of wood, dress it like (532) an infant and cover it with the gathered flowers. This figurine represents the infant Lazarus reborn. The boys recommence their tour of the huts, (533) singing joyous tunes, rejoicing in his resurrection; the women give them sweets and eggs. The symbolism of this scene is identical with that of the "pure Monday" dance. The death and resurrection of Saint Lazarus, "the friend of the Lord," here take on the meaning of the periodic regeneration of nature; they are therefore put at the service of fertility. The simulated death of the young man, his rebirth in the form of an infant, the gathered flowers, the eggs which contain life, etc., leave no doubt about the accuracy of this interpretation. (1)

1. Κ. Α. ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ : Λαϊκαὶ Λατρεῖαι..., p. 166, note 1. -- Γ. ΜΕΓΑΣ Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἑορταί, p. 142.

(171) --It is a custom found almost everywhere in Greece.

* * * *

Maundy Thursday is a day of extreme importance in the popular religion of Greece, on the one hand, because in church "the twelve gospels" are read, recounting the arrest, the judgment and the crucifixion of the Lord, and on the other hand, on account of the belief "that the souls of the dead, freed by the descent of Christ into hell, rise up on Maundy

/327 cont./

796 795 796 795 789 Thursday and move about among the living until Pentecost." Sarakatsani women at that time prepare two bags which they carry to church. The first, "intended for the living," is filled with various objects which must be blessed--tsandiles, small bells, salt, incense, wool of black sheep, painted eggs, wax candles, etc.; it is placed beside the altar [769] (hieron) during mass. The second /bag/, intended "for the dead," is filled with bread, kolyva (the pastry of the dead made with boiled grain), wine, incense, etc.; it is handed over to the parish priest so that he will conduct a /328/ service for the dead of the family who, as we have said, are present on this day. The bag intended for the living is the more one interesting for this part of our analysis. The objects it contains show the significance of the practice. They are divided into two categories: those that represent the economic life of our herders; those that are destined for spiritual use, so to speak. All these objects will be blessed during the service. Thus, prosperity is assured, since dairy production (symbolized by the tsandiles) and herding (small bells) are blessed; the same is true for births, or rather fecundity, symbolized by the egg. It is necessary to give some details pertaining to the egg of Maundy Thursday. It is an egg laid that very day by a black [887] [531] hen (a color which is presumed to have occult properties). Before being brought to the church it is decorated all over with sinuous designs symbolizing the snake, hence fecundity. The other objects are used for making amulets (salt, incense) or to drive off evil spirits (wax candles that are lit during the exorcisms, etc.).

796 [788] [533] [533] On Good Friday another ritual takes place among the Sarakatsani. On this day the Orthodox Church holds a service and a procession commemorating the descent from the cross, the obsequies and the entombment of Christ; during these the choir sings hymns called "the laments at the tomb" or eulogies. Now, these nomads organize among themselves a "lament for the

/328 cont./

796 dead Lord," sung by the women. The latter erect in a hut a sort of
533 catafalque on which they place a figurine representing Christ; then,
[532] seated all around, they perform a special hymn of popular origin, while
[478] the members of the Tséligato come, one after another, to prostrate them-
[596] selves before the catafalque. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (2)
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2. Ibid., A. I. p. ρξδ'.

who reports this custom which has now disappeared, it is another instance of a survival of Dionysian beliefs or /beliefs/ related to the death of the companion of the mother's Goddess, here incorporated in the worship of
[114] the Lord. However, it seems to us that this explanation is exaggerated. From our viewpoint, one must see in it a manifestation Sarakatsani religiosity and the omni-functionalism of their society. For Greeks in
796 general, Holy Week and Easter are the most important religious festivals
191 of the year, and everyone takes active part in them. /329/ Greek piety is such that in many villages the women gather at the church on Good Friday and, between the morning and evening service, they watch at the tomb of the Lord, represented according to the canons, while chanting laments of popular origin. (3)

a. Cf. Β. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗ-ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗ : Ὁ Θρῆνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ,
pp. 249-255 and the bibliography drawn up by
[illegible] — Σ. ΣΤΥΛΟΛΑΤΗΣ : Ὁ Θρῆνος
τοῦ Χριστοῦ, p. [illegible]

[796] An identical ritual is also performed on 15 August, the day of the death of the Holy Virgin who is very much venerated in the nation and who, according to the Byzantine tradition, is leader /"stratège"/ of the nation.
771 The laments chanted by our nomads on these occasions are meant to conform
796 to these more general customs that have their origin in Christianity and
191 in popular devotion and not elsewhere. Of course, and as a hypothesis,
178 comparisons between the ancient cults of Dionysus, etc., and the Christian

/336 cont./

764 Next, a white velentza (blanket) is spread out in the center of the hut, the deceased placed upon it, his eyes are closed and his feet tied with a rope so that "he will not shift in his grave," actually so that he will not become a ghost! (13)

13. M. Eliade, in Images et Symboles, p. 146, footnote 57, says, citing Frazer: La crainte des morts, /The fear of the dead/ pp. 53-59, that it is always as defense against the spirits of the dead that corpses are tied up, although the significance of this custom is more complex.

With regard to his position on the ground we refer to what was said elsewhere (pp. 276-278). Then the attendants place themselves around him and [533] the women, without distinction of age, status of kinship, commence to [152] weep loudly and sing the mirolia (special songs, often improvised) while tearing their hair, beating their breasts and sometimes scratching their [602] cheeks. The next of kin must weep more than the others. The intensity and sadness of the lamentations are in inverse proportion to the age of the deceased.

765 The same is true of mourning. If the deceased was a young person, mourning lasts three to five years. If it was an old person, only one year. An old Sarakatsani woman told us that after the death of her elderly husband she did not replace the red blankets which were part of the decor of her hut with black blankets, for her companion had lived his life and she had her children.

[822] Black is the color of mourning. The women no longer wear embroidered [302] garments, the men put on black shirts and let their beards grow. The [291] mother of the deceased and the widow wear mourning for life, the first [178] because "a mother is never consoled for the loss of her child," the second because "she must be in mourning forever for her spouse."

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postulate of representation.

Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be loitering about in the vicinity. (16)

16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

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The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

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After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat, and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

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765 On the third, ninth and fortieth day after death, and on the day
769 of the first anniversary, there is a solemn commemoration of the deceased. The practices relating to these ceremonies involve, according to the orthodox rite, the preparation of the cakes of the dead, the kolyva (17)

17. A practice which, according to M. Nilsson: [illegible] pp. 28-29 goes back to classical antiquity. It is connected with the festival of Anthesteria (third day, festival of the dead).

--grains of boiled wheat put on a plate and covered with sugar--symbolizing the body. They are put on the ground, as we know, the people weep and
[533] sing the miroloia, then they carry them to the church where the parish priest says prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased.

769 Commemoration of the 40th day and of the first anniversary includes a feast served to individuals who took part in the service. On this occasion a lamb is sacrificed. The next of kin do not sit at the table on the 40th day, /341/ but participate at the anniversay feast. If the dead person was the father of a family, a loaf is prepared which the eldest son, at the time of the feast, must place on his head and break, saying: "May God grant my father forgiveness." The commemoration feasts
[533] are always accompanied by miroloia.

The Sarakatsani do not forget their dead. If they find themselves in
[765] a locality near the cemetery where their dead are buried, it is customary, at least during the first weeks of mourning, for the women to go there at twilight to weep on the grave while uttering heart-rendering cries.
769 Moreover, the days consecrated to the dead by the Church (the two
796 Saturdays before Lent, Saint Theodore, etc.) kolyva will be prepared
[789] for all the deceased of the family. On these days it is forbidden to wash
[307] one's head and comb one's hair, this action inviting death to get tangled
[515] up in the hair of the living and strike someone!
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53 intended to answer the aesthetic requirements of these herders it must, at the same time, fulfill important functions. (1)

1. For a parallel study see the bibliography and the comments of G. Balandier in his article "Afrique Noire et Madagascar" in Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire de l'Art, 1, Le monde non chrètien (1962).

[128] We shall try to consider it in this chapter from this double point of view. Its morphological aspect will necessarily remain in shadow, for it does not enter into the scope of this work.

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The artistic world of the Sarakatsani is expressed in music (melodies sung or played), poetry (almost always in the form of words to songs), the dance (performed while singing), sculpture in wood, embroidery, narratives and tales.

Its manifestations, in any of these branches, may be classified into two fundamental categories: expressions that are "incorporated" into other aspects of culture, those that are "not incorporated" and the "free."

53 789 [178] The "attached" manifestations are an indissoluble part of the magico-religious ritual and social proceedings. Their subject matter and form are strictly determined by tradition and the ideas that accompany it. No innovation is tolerated, for any change would risk making the ritual ineffective and disrupting the principles of social life. The works of art which correspond to this category are carried out under conditions prescribed in advance and have in view the interests of the group. To /366/ furnish an illustration it is sufficient to recall the 789 533 585 [521] [535] [538] snakes that ornament the /shepherd's/ crook, the distaff and the ritual breads, the embroidered moons, the dances of the dramatic scenes, the verses recited during exorcisms, the phases of the wedding ceremony in

/366 cont./

which songs are the keynote marking the stages of the procedure followed, dictating the sentiments and attitudes which the participants must experience, (2)

2. On the Thursday before the wedding, the girls, relatives of the betrothed couple, set out to gather wood that will be used to bake the wedding cake. And while walking they must sing the following song:

--The little "Rosebush" sets out to cut wood.
--The trees are hard and the girl frail and delicate.
--She wounds her small hand and cuts her little finger.

On Friday evening, at the dwelling of the fiance, the large nuptial flag is made, which is carried at the head of the procession when the latter departs for the dwelling of the fiancee. Here is the song that accompanies this work:

--For whom is this red and white flag?
--It is for the bridegroom, this red and white flag.
--Who makes it and who colors it red?
--His brothers, his sisters (etc.).
--All the cousins of the bridegroom must be there
--All must be armed and all must fire guns
So that the flag will know prosperity...
--Take care, stitch it tight
It will travel over the mountain
It will be torn by brambles
And the mother-in-law (father-in-law) will make fun
Of it.

When the procession is ready to leave with the fiancee, the

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company sings in her name and addresses the companions of the fiance:

--My new friends, do not hurry
Wait while I say goodbye to my mother
(my father, brothers, etc.)

See also the chapter on the family where are other examples of songs accompanying the phases of the wedding.

bereavement which is expressed by lamentations meant to ensure also the

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peace of the deceased, and so forth. Art then becomes the vehicle of magic, one of the agents of man's control of nature. The fashioning of symbols and the performance of dances must be faultless, because the perfect, hence artistic, form produces a more powerful effect.

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The "free" manifestations are connected with relaxation, amusement, pleasure. However, though "free," they must conform to the general style of Sarakatsani art. Innovations and little fantasies are tolerated insofar as they do not change the accepted style. The corresponding works may be carried out when custom demands it or allows it, and even at the pleasure of the Sarakatsani. It will be interesting to

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give a /367/ brief glimpse of these manifestations. First, there is a group of songs which includes:

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Table songs sung during feasts and divided into epics and sentimental songs. Slow and serious, the first of these celebrate the exploits and the heroism of those who, during the Turkish occupation, sacrificed themselves for freedom. The second, more lively, tell stories of love. Since love is officially excluded from Sarakatsani life, there seems to be a contradiction here. This came to the attention of C. Hoeg who was given the following explanation by his informants: "The songs are lies," which means they relate to fictitious situations. Perhaps one might

/367 cont./

533 see in this explanation an "ideological" sublimation of suppressed love--a feeling common to human nature and thus not unknown to the Sarakatsani.

[177] All the songs sung on this occasion are not necessarily of Sarakatsani origin; a certain number of them come from general Greek folklore.

533 635 [179] Songs of the non-ritual dance: these songs too are typically not Sarakatsani, like the dances, which are common in the country (Crete and the islands excepted). However, there is a dance known as the "dance of three" which is the Sarakatsani's own and is performed to a Sarakatsani song.

533 461 Songs accompanying some kinds of work: during the seasonal migrations the monotony of the march is often broken by song. The same is true of shearing.

533 461 233 [534] A second "free" artistic manifestation among the Sarakatsani involves tunes played by the shepherds on their flutes during the hours of pasturing--rather sad, tunes drawn-out and full of longing. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3)

3. Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 144-145.

the shepherds themselves say that they reproduce on their flutes the [114] sound of the small bells. We believe that this testimony is musically incorrect. The flocks recognize the sounds of the flute and gather around the shepherd as they gather around the large bell of the ram. It is a matter of conditioning the animals by sounds, a conditioning which, though common to both cases, in no way assumes an artistic

533 ressemblance between one and the other. And if the tunes played /368/ 233 on the flute with their cadences and trills often evoke the sounds of the bells of the flocks which, heard from a distance, seem to form musical phrases including cadences and trills, it must nevertheless be

/368 cont./

533 [239] recognized that the tunes of the flute do not constitute descriptive music. They have a content of their own, very distinct and autonomous, emanating from the musical disposition of these herders. Proof lies in the fact that the Sarakatsani are very sensitive to the music of the flutes. Madame Hadjimichali reports that while listening to it [152] they sometimes weep. They themselves say that the flute forces the player "to enter into it." Purely descriptive music would not be able to exert such an influence on feeling.

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Fig. 104

Fig. 105

Fig. 106

Sculpture in wood, except for the symbols on crooks and distaffs, is also "free." The motifs engraved on different objects are geometric designs, figures of men and animals and plants subjects. (4)

531 532 114 4. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., t: I, vol. II, pp. 359-452, presents a detailed study of the wooden sculpture of the Sarakatsani. In a superb series of photographs and drawings she introduces us to the art of our herders and gives excellent comments on the morphology of the decorated objects. This part [178] of her work is all the more valuable in that it deals

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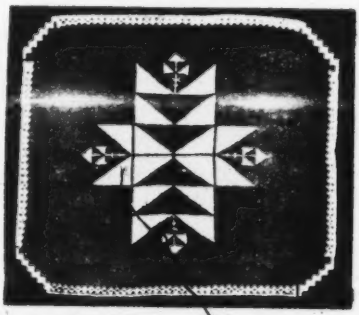

Fig. 107

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53 152 precisely what the "authorized" sentiments, so to speak, are and the place they occupy in Sarakatsani life.

585 533 539 152 When the bride leaves her paternal hut her attendants perform a song which is supposed to be a dialogue between the girl and her mother:

--My rosy apple, where will you take shelter tonight?
--You show no tenderness for me,
Why are you interested in my fate?
--I pine away for you
And I shall die if I cannot see you...
--Follow the shore of the sea
You will find three beds
On the one you will see my mother asleep
On the other, my sister,
And on that which is covered with roses
It is I who shall sleep alone...

/371 cont./

585 Sorrow at separation, modesty before the wedding night, authorized
533 sentiments come together with the very beautiful poetic form, which
152 testifies to the sensitivity of the Sarakatsani. Another song, a funeral
764 song, says:
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--The birds, the nightingales have deceived me...
They told me that Charon would never carry me away...
--I have built my houses of marble
The doors are of gold, the windows of silver
And the keys pure and splendid pearls...
--But I see from afar Charon who comes on his mount.
He is black, and his horse, his clothing are black also
--Charon come, enter, sit at my table and share my respast...
--I have not come to eat and to sing,
I have come to seek your soul.

Or again:

--Yesterday, the day before yesterday, I passed the church of Saint Demetrius...
--I heard young people lamenting
young girls sighing...
/372/--The young men because they had no finery...
And the boys not married wept
because they had not known betrothal.
--Oh! It is not fair that young men die
And that young girls are forgotten...

Profound human reverberations echo in these verses.

533 That art or the song have psychological, "liberating" functions for
152 human sorrow does not escape the Sarakatsani. A female informant from
154 Tchépélovo spoke the following lines to us:
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539 "Songs are words that sorrow speaks. They would like to do away with the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."

/372 cont./

the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."

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534 We should like to conclude this brief chapter with a description of the musical instruments of the Sarakatsani, which are simply variations of the flute. Our herders call them tzamara and tziradi. They either make them themselves or else they buy them commercially.

[804] The tzamara is a very long flute measuring 12 "palms" (approximately 90 centimeters--the Sarakatsani use the palm of the hand as a unit of measure), made of a hollow tube of wood, more rarely of metal, pierced with several holes upon which the fingers are set to vary the frequencies. There are seven of these holes. We shall call them "main holes" to distinguish them from the others. One of the two ends of the tube is used as the mouthpiece. On the other end there are three holes arranged in a triangle which are on a line with the main holes. At the height of the first main hole, but diametrically opposite, there is an orifice that /the player's/ close with the thumb; there is another opposite the hole which forms the summit of the triangle. This last one is called "the devil's hole" because it is the "devil who conceived it," while the one stopped with the thumb is "the work of Jesus Christ." This [773] in accordance with a Sarakatsani legend that says the first tzamara was made during the resurrection of Christ. And the devil, vexed, tried to damage it by /373/ /Figure 108 appears here/ /374/ piercing it at the place we have just indicated. However, thanks to the intervention of Christ who pierced it higher up, the sound of the instrument became better and the devil burst with fury.

[533] [516] The sound of the tzarmara is soft and deep. The musician must play seated because of the length of the instrument (fig. 108) which is also called floyera, a common name in Greece for all shepherd flutes. /Figure 109 appears here/